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ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE Southern Rights Association of Alabama, At Mobile, on Monday evening, Nov. 4th 1850,

by B. Boykin. The topic presented to the Southern people at this juncture is of such a momentous character as to swallow up all minor difference of political oponion, and resolve itself into a question of self preservation. National Whig platforms Demogratic platforms cannot be constructed of such capacious dimensions as to enable the respective parties to stand harmoniously to-gether. Vital questions going to the safety of property and to the security of homes erect barparties to stand harmoniously toriers against such a partisan cohesion. South-ern Whigs and Southern Democrats must first instincts peculiar to man, and acknowledge the supremacy of party rule over the laws of justice and honor before they can coalese with materials so discordant and hostile .-The decrees of human nature forbid the congenial union of parties, where the one is seeking the subjugation of the other. The structure of political compacts presupposes equality among the parties contracting, and any disturbance of this equality interrupts the relations established by the compact, and throws upon its members responsibility of violating its terms. On this fundamental question, the South is ready to place the issue, and to abide the award.

From the commencement of this confederacy of equal sovereignties, the Southern States have been true to the constitutional bond of its union. No charge to the contrary has been brought against them. But how has it been with the Northern States? The barrenness of its soil and the inhospitality of its climate have sought relief and support in those superior natural advantages which God has vouchsafed to the Southern section. Governmental aid and protec tion have been successfully invoked to equalize physical distinctions. But did it stop here So far from this being the case, the power of the Federal Government has been employed and di rected to make the one portion of the confederacy support and enrich the other. In spite, however, of unequal and unjust legislation, the South has prospered. Contributions, to be sure, have diminished her wealth, but still she has managed to stand the levy and thrive.

The North, presuming upon our further capacity to pay tribute and to live, and upon our willingness to yield obedience to her exactions, has pushed her demands to a point which involves our very destiny.

These demands bring us soberly to ask the question, has the South cause for alarm? are her institutions in danger? A few facts will serve to answer these questions. Within the short period of sixteen years the spirit of abolition has grown from a handful of fanaties to an organized army composed of men of power and influence. So rapid have been its rise and progress that it now controls the policy of our government and threatens an entire revolution in its political, religious, and social organization. Striking at the basis of the constitutional compact, it carries in its principles the elements of destruction. Religious bigotry and political fanaticism have united to prosecute an exterminating war against slavery in the Southern States; the battle cry is that slavery is a sin on earth, and a crime against God, and that the work of reform must go steadily forward until the earth shall have been purged of this pollution, and Diety appeased. Professing to be bound by obligations higher than the Constitu-tion itself, their standard of action is above legislative restraints. In vain are constitutional barriers set up against their progress. In vain are solemn compacts appealed to as binding In vain are the dire consequences to which their acts tend, pointed out and made manifest. So great has been the impulse which the progress of abolition has received, and so expensive and powerful has it grown, that its proportions are now so vast as to overshadow all other questions. At the North all ages, sexes and conditions—all creeds and denominations are deeply imbued with its spirit. It is the rubric of their religion, their politics and literature, and by these influences it threatens to bring the Southern States under its sway, regardless of conseuences. To these facts, and to the danger which they portend, we ought not to be insenentable, however, is the admission that many are disposed to go on their way re joicing, imagining that all's well,-all is peace This delusion admirably serves our It enables them the more successfully to accomplish their purposes, by quietly draw ing the web of their policy around us. Unfortunately for the South the character and

influence of these Abolitionists have not been properly estimated. Few men ever supposed that they would have accomplished so much in so short a time. At first their work was done under a mask. Now all disguises are thrown off and their plans are prosecuted with a boldness, a despatch and an efficiency which show that they feel their strength and are determined to make us feel it too. The triumphs of the succeeded in destroying the political equality of the Southern States, and weakening the securities of our institutions; they have practically engrafted the principles of their odious Wilmot upon the legislation of the country. Forms with them are of little consequence when the the District of Columbia. This sets up another landmark directing the way to a kindred measure—the abolition of slavery itself within the all the territories, will the Abolitionists stop half as a remedy. way in their work? Is there anything in their history to induce us to believe they wil? Strengthened in their position and eager to see rious victory, the next blow will be struck at the abolition of slavery in the States themselves. Meantime the South is advised to be passive and indifferent to what is occurring. If she contin-

ues to slumber, her doom is already recorded. It would be well for Southern men to contemplate the consequences which will flow from the movements of the Abolitionists and Free-soilers, unless checked in some way or other. Nothing short of the entire abolition of slavery in the South, it may be fairly assumed, will satisfy them. Indeed for this we have their often repeated declarations; and conclusive evidence of their an event, what would be the condition of things be computed at sixteen hundred millions of dollars. The lands which they cultivate (of diminished value without this species of labor) with culty. the appendages, would make the value of both kinds of property something like two billions of dollars. Such is the stake in dollars and The extinction of so much property is the aim and the end of the Abolitionists. To what To what a condition would the Southern people be brought by its destruction! Desolation, such as the world never saw, would follow. Fields the most fertile would lie in waste. Cities the most flourishing would crumble into ruin. Industry the most vigorous and profitable would stores into the lap of every nation would cease.
Homes the most happy would be converted into
So far as a comparison between the Northern hovels the most wretched. A social organization the most perfect and independent would give way to feuds the most deadly and to a system of vassalage the most abject.

But this is not all. Beyond is a catasthrophe, f possible, more dreadful and appalling. A war stituting a great, prosperous and independent na-

of extermination might follow the act of emanof extermination might follow the act of eman-cipation. The white and the black races cannot live upon terms of social or political equality. To the one or the other must the soil be aban-doned. The conflict would be a bloody one, but the result certain. The black race, now en-joying comforts and made happy in their condi-tion, (more happy perhaps than the peasantry of any nation,) would either be put to death or re-moved from that state which of all others best suits their character and habits. Such is the suits their character and habits. Such is the ultimate end to which successful abolition would inevitably lead. And we may here ask what is to be gained by it ! Fanaticism will have estab lished its dogma, and the world have realized, in a political abstraction, inumerable woes and widespread ruin. But the question that immediately addresses

itself to us is, how are these dangers, so far as we are concerned, to be averted? carries with it a deep import and challenges the wisest considerations. It is neither to be answered by the language of despair, nor met by timid resolves. We must feel ourselves strong enough for the crisis, and courageous enough to look it full in the face. We have tried the efficacy of compromises. They have brought no remedy. The party with whom we have compromised and to whose exactions we have yielded, have not dealt honestly with us; they have failed to keep their engagements; they have broken their plighted faith for the sake of power and the lust of domination, and we have no reason to believe that they will be more sincere in times to come, than they have been in times past. On the contrary, every concession we make and every compromise we enter into, are regarded as so much extorted from our fears; and, instead of satisfying them, only encourage their audacity to set up more extravagant claims. The truth is, yield as much as we may, we deceive ourselves most wofully, if we suppose that any con-cession we may make, short of the abolition of slavery, will satisfy these Northern people. Already have we nearly compromised ourselves to death. The ordinance of '87, although in no technical sense a compromise, yet by the terms of cession it partook of the nature of a contract. Virginia, in a moment of magnificent folly, sur rendered to the North that immense domain called the North Western Territory, with two conditions attached—the one was that only four States should be formed out of it, and the other was that fugitive Slaves should be delivered up on demand of their masters. Of course such a present was not declined upon the conditions nexed. But how have these conditions been fulfilled? Five States have been carved out of this territory, instead of four, and as far as the delivery of fugitives is concerned, instead of the slaves being surrendered to their own rs, the owners, in pursuit of them, have been delivered to the tender mercies of mobs, and to the gener-

osity of prisons. But when that great compromise was entered into, known as the Missouri Compromise, that was to be a permanent settlement of this vexed and delicate question. Here the South again gave up much, if not everything, and the North othing. In this case the North demanded the right to exclude slavery from any part of the territories, and upon the question charged the South with a disposition to break up the Union, because of its unwillingness to recognize the correctness of the principle contended for, and its resistance to the justness of the demand. In this instance the South, as usual, gave way, and a compromise between the two sections was esablished, marked by the latitude of 36 deg. 30 min. prohibiting slavery North of it, and leaving it by implication not to be interfered with south of it. The quid pro quo for this surrender on the part of the South was the privilege of being let alone by the North, and a pledge of peace of the question, which was to be considered the as being finally closed against all Congressional agitation. Well, over this compromise the two sections shook hands and plighted their honor. The South has been ever faithful to the boud. How stands the case with the North? The history of the country supplies the answer. The North has refused to stand by the terms of the compact. She has repudiated its validity, and now demands that slavery shall be excluded from all territory south of 36 deg. 30 min, as well as north of that line—and the demand has been collowed by its prompt execution, and the South

en, but certainly not to the heart. Instead of up in a gre quiet and repose, we have received insult, and, nal trade -a trade which has made the North what the inexhaustable theme of denunciation and abuse in and out of Congress. The most insulting speeches and proscriptive resolutions have eterized the peace which has been vouchsafed to us. In every possible form have our institutions been assailed and our feeling outraged. Not only have our rights under the Con- an article on the consequences of disunion, constitution been denied us, but our property has been stolen from us. So far from being treated as equals, we are given very significantly to understand that if we are not satisfied to remain a subjugated people, there is such a thing as an army and navy for the benefit of rebels.

It would appear, then, that we have no safeguards in compromises and concessions, but that they have heretofore only served as a means past are their heralds of the future. They have for our own disparagement and degradation. succeeded in excluding slavery from all the The credulity with which we have vielded to Mexican acquisitions; and surrounding the slave their promises has brought upon us contempt. States with a cordon of free States; they have and has caused us to be laughed to scorn. While compromises furnish us no security for the peaceful maintainance of our rights and property, they show that we have made a fatal mistake in concluding that any concessions on the subject of slavery that do not go to an entire abandonment of it as an institution, will never satisfy our eneend can be as readily obtained in one shape as mies. Compromises have resulted in proving another. The slave trade has been abolished in that the anti-slavery party will not be bound by them, and that this is not only a controlling party at the North, but one eminently progressive and dangerously aggressive. We must, then, District. Abolished there and excluded from give up the compromising or temporising policy

If there be a power which can drive back this arrogant spirit, and arrest the wantonness of its attacks, that power is alone to be found in the honest purposes" consummated in a glo- Union of the Southern people. The North has the means at hand to do us justice and to save the Union. Submission to encroachments and divisions among ourselves, however, will never secure us that justice and that consideration to which we are of right entitled under the Constitution. The spirit that prompts resistance and the Union that gives it strength are the strong arms of our success. Our safety depends on harmony of sentiment, and our security upon concert of action. A perfect understanding among the Southern people to the effect that hey will resist aggressions upon their rights, at any hazard, would, it is believed, bring the Norsincerity of purpose is not wanting? In such thern people to reason, and force them, under a conviction of self interest, to respect our rights in the slave-holding States. The picture, even and treat us as equals—to restore our securities in water colors, is frightful to look upon. In and yield us a just share in the acquisitions of these States, there are now at least three millions of slaves. Their value at this time may broken up into political divisions, their rule of action will be, as it has been, "to divide and conquer," and the task will not be one of diffi-

Entertaining these views, we desire to see the Southern people uniting upon the great questions of their property and lives. We would be glad to cents involved in this momentous controversy, see the most perfect organization in every county in the State; then we would begin to hope fo better times. The South united is strong. South divided is weak. Union may save us : division is certain to destroy us.

It has been the habit of some to disparage the

strength and resources of the Southern States, and many well-meaning Southern men have grown timorous under the impression that the South has be paralized. A commerce which pours its the means of successful defence. This is a matter and Southern States may be relied upon to estab-lish the inherent strength and resources of the one over the other, the superiority is unquestionably on the side of the South. The agricultural resources of the slave States are richer and more varied, and afford the necessary elements for con-

furnish the basis upon which the lucrative com-merce of the North is carried on, and the means by which the principal amount of the revenue of Government is raised, to say nothing of its contributions to the commerce and prosperity of other nations. But for the single item of cotton, which is produced within the slave States, how different would be the condition of the Northern States and the people of the North! "Deprived of the cot-ton and commerce of the South, what would be seen? Ships rotting at their wharves; factories tumbling into ruins; and their merchant princes, like those of Venice, living meagerly on contribucotton of the South gives play to the shuttle of the North; it is the pulse of its life. Let it stop once and it beats no more. Nor is this confined to the

North. The same cause operates on every pow-erful nation of Western Europe." erful nation of Western Europe."

The following facts will go to show some of the elements of wealth and power possessed by the Southern States, establishing, beyond question, the superiority of their resources over those of the Northern States. "The crop of the United States, in 1823, was only 509,158, and yet the crop of 1848-9 had reached 2,728,596, more than five imes as great in 1848 as it was in 1823, twentysix years before. This was worth, (at 10 cents) \$81,871,009. Deducting 518,039 as the quantity consumed in the United States, we have for exportation, 2,227,844 bales, which at 10 cents, (a mean estimate) is worth \$66,825,329. If to this be added the other domestic productions of the South, \$32,674,176, the whole value of Southern \$62,1840 as 98,580,000. more than two exports for 1849 is \$99,500,000-more than two-thirds of the whole domestic exports from the United States for that year, which was \$131,710,-081, and more than three times as much as the whole domestic export from the North for the same year, which was \$32,210,081. The remarksame year, which was \$33,210,001. The remainder able fact is also shown, that the domestic exports of the South, exclusive of cotton, her great staple, is \$32,674,176, while the exports from the North are \$32,210,081, leaving the value of her cotton over and above. The fact that the North consumes less than one-fifth of our cotton, while four-fifth of ford so ready a market, on our whaves, is fifths find so ready a market on our wharves, is significant of the independence of the South; and the North might well be reminded by her receiving all her supply of raw material from us, and send-ing it again to us in her manufactured goods, (even if less keen-sighted than our Northern brethren are reputed to be) how dangerous is the policy of converting an ally into an enemy, and a customer

"Thus is shown, by the operation of one agricultural product, the vast power the South already has and controls unconsciously. What she might attain, if her attention were turned to manufacturing her productions, would be an interesting inquiry. It would illustrate a condition scarcely to be seen elsewhere, of a people possessing the means of producing and manufacturing, within the same limits, the material for wealth and expanded commerce."
To demonstrate the capacity of the South to en-

gage extensively and successfully in manufactur-ing, would be to present a picture upon which no truly Southern eye can look without feelings of pride and pleasure. But this view of the subject

pride and pleasure. But this view of the subject is omitted for want of space, as its discussion would carry this essay beyond the limits contemplated. The power of the South in another, and not less imposing view, will be presented.

"The South now, alone, has a militia of 700,000 men doing duty, and, in an emergency, the number could be increased to one million. With her territory extending from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, from the twenty-ninth to the fortieth parallel of latitude; with a Gulf and Atlantic coast 2.100 miles, the former acquired since the war of the revolution; with her territory mapped over by long lines of rail-roads; with the control of the largest river in the United States—that inland sea, bearing on its broad bosom the wealth of the South and West, and the North-west; with a climate and soil so diversified that all the breadstuffs necessary for man may be grown in one section of each State. But above and beyond all these, there is a tie which cements together these Sout ern States beyond any union now existing be tween the opposite sections of the country. It is the identity of the interests and pursuits of its population. The existence of slavery links them together, as perhaps no separate people have ever yet been. In the North, as society now exists,

yet been. In the North, as society now exists, the interests of the sections are diverse, and so must necessarily be their feelings."

From these considerations may we not be encouraged with the hope that, in case our Northern brethren do drive us from them, we have the ability to "set our house in order," and live independently by virtue of our own strength and resources. But "we have no wish to see the Consolved. Bring it hack to justice, refederacy dissolved. Bring it back to justice; re-new and respect the guarantees of the Constituprosperity. The following statistical facts will abandonment by the South of its connection with that section. They are worthy of the consideraconsequence their own ruin.

"DIRECT TRADE .- The New York Courier, in denses some important commercial figures and facts. The product of the slave States it puts

Cotton Tabacco Rice Naval Stores	1849 \$95,250,000 . 6,616,741 . 3,841,964 . 1,624,190	1848 74,620,000 8,756,360 3,575,895 1,864,319	1847 72,905,000 11,008,200 3,091,215 1,638,612
Sugar & Mo-	\$107,332,895 18,417,500	88,816,574 16,486,000	

Total .\$125,750,395 105,302,574 111,549,457 "Of which there were exported to foreign coun tries, during the same period, derived from officia

H	returns, viz :			7
Ц	15-	1849	1848	1847
•		\$66,396,967	61,998,294	53,415,878
	Tobacco	. 5,804,207	7,551,122	7,242,086
	Rice	2,569,362	2,331,824	3,605,896
	Naval Stores .	845,161	752,303	759,221
		\$75,615,700	79.633.543	65 023 051

"Here it is shown that the aggregate amount of the exports of Southern industry made to foreign countries within three years, was \$212,273,294. "How much of all this, does the reader suppose was imported by the South? Why, as shown by our tables, only \$48,441,719! The rest, \$164,835, 575, went through the hands of the North. How much of this was left in those hands, and how many hundreds of thousands of people in the South would this have maintained? How many cities would it have helped to build? How much would it have served to reduce the per capita amount of

axation which we pay to our States?
"Our tables show that within the three years above-named, the value of the whole amount ex-ported from the free states of materials of their own production, was \$167,209,214. That is, the South furnished to the exporting mercantile enerprise of the North within a fraction of as much as the whole of the exportable industry of that

"The total value of all the imports into the United States within the three years, is stated as

92,736,497 94,525,141 84,167,352 26,327,874 28,647,707 34,477,008 14,716,030 14,200,043 11,161,667 ern ports Total North . 133,780,361 137,373,891 129,806,027 New Orleans . 8,077,910 9,380,439

Charleston . .

4,688,577 6,760,298 5,934,987 Total Nouth 14,077,078 17,626,036 16,738,605 "Here it will be seen that the aggregate value of all the imports into the North was \$400,959,279 while the total value of the imports into the South was only \$48,441,719! Yet, within this period,

the South out of the Union.
"Cwing to the operation of certain laws of the Federal Government, the Northern States have now the entire monopoly of the Southern market for a large amount of the articles which they manufacture, and upon which hundreds of thousands of their citizens depend for support. They enjoy, also, bounties upon another large class of their manufactures, upon which millions more of their

citizens depend, and which bounties secure to but eighteen million present from the Federal Government of from fi-teen to thirty-five dollars upon every hundred dollars' worth of goods which they manufacture and sell at the South. To estimate properly the immense importance of these advantages to the Northern States, it must be borne in mind that the customer is no insignificant one; but numbers population "It may be assumed, then, as a thing that i the customer is no insignificant one; but numbers now, perhaps, by the present census, nine millions of population, and that manufacturing at present little among themselves, they are almost entirely buyers, and not sellers of those articles which the Northern States and foreign nations send to them.

"Now, these things being premised, let any man ask himself, what would be the effect, if these

man ask himself, what would be the elect, it these bounties of the Federal Government were taken away; and not only taken away, but the burden of an import duty added to the cost of manufac-turing. The separation of the Southern from the Northern States, would render it necessary for us o have a revenue of our own, which, on a peace establishment, may be assumed to be about 20 per cent. at an average. We will also assume that the average amount of bounty which the Northern the average amount of bounty which the Northern manufacturers now receive, under our present revenue laws, is also 20 per cent. It is in reality much more. The account then will stand thus. In the Union they have a present now made them of \$20 for every hundred dollars' worth of goods which they manufacture; which adds just so much to the profits of their labor. Separated from us, they lose, first, the government present of 20 per cent.; and have, secondly, to add to the loss 20 per cent. more, in the form of a revenue duty, to be paid to the Southern United States:—making a difference to them, in the profit of their industry, of 40 per cent. Can any same man believe for a moment that manufactures which are now fostered by bounties of 20 per cent., and, as their advocates tell us, scarcely thrive at that, can exist for a year, when 40, or even 20 per cent. of their profits are abstracted from them? It would be ab-

nem great advantages over their

surd to suppose so.
"It may be confidently assumed, then, that the separation of the Northern States from us, which would be followed by the loss of their present bounties, and the additions of new burdens on their labor, would bankrupt almost every manu facturing establishment at the North : and would throw out of employment hundreds of thousands of their citizens, who would have to throng in their other departments of industry to seek a livelihood. But what other department of their industry would be in a better condition, or could r ceive them? Certainly not their agricultural, which centre them? Certainly not their agricultural, which cannot compete now with the South and West in any srticle which they can grow to a profit. Not their navigation interests, for, under the state of things which we are supposing, the tonnage boun ties being taken from them, and duties of our own burdened upon them instead, and our freights being given to our foreign customers, or perhaps on-ly a small share given to Northern ship-owners, their savigation interest would dwindle, and their sailors would have to seek employment elsewhere. Their commercial department could not receive them, since, exporting our agricultural products in vessels of our foreign customers, and establishing a direct trade between our own ports and these

countries, we not only shall have no need for Northern merchants to do our business, but, being decrived of the immense capital which they now have the use of, in exporting so large a portion of rich agricultural staples, they would be de-prived of the chief support upon which their foreign commerce is now kept so prosperous, and without which it must drag on, in a feeble and

sickly existence.
Every department of Northern industry bein doomed to heavy injury, diminishment and decay by this withdrawal of the bounties which they now enjoy in the Union, and the competition which they will have to encounter out of it from other nations; and millions of their citizens thrown out of employment to seek for it elsewhere, but which cannot be found at home—for the first ef-fects of our separation from them will be incalculable distress among their citizens; and the next the emigration of their citizens, with their capital to other States, where it can be made to be more profitable. The "Southern United States" wil offer the strongest temptations to them for such emigration and investment of capital. It will be necessary only to cross the line, and settle within her borders, to renew the privileges which they formerly enjoyed under the old Union; and who doubts but that it will be eagerly embraced, and thousands abstracted from the population, and millions from the capital of the North?

"But it is not merely in the wide-spread injury which will be inflicted upon every department of industry at the North, that the effects of a separamorth of that line—and the demand has been followed by its prompt execution, and the South its forever shut out from all participation in the territories. But this is not all. We were promised to be let alone, and to be allowed to manage our own affairs in our own way. Has this promise been kept? To the car it may have been, but certainly not to the heart. Instead of the Union, carrying with it no longer voice of acquisitions, and there will be no longer voice of infinitely profitable to them in another way. We are the tax receivers and tax spenders. They have contrived by little accribity of feeling, would result in breaking advoict management, and though their majority in Mills and and more than the finite will be inflicted upon every department of industry at the North, that the effects of a separation from us will be felt by their citizens. We are infinitely profitable to them in another way.

A disruption of the Union, carrying with it no little accribity of feeling, would result in breaking advoict management, and though the finite upon every department of industry at the North, that the effects of a separation from us will be felt by their citizens. We are infinitely profitable to them in another way.

A disruption of the Union, carrying with it no little accribity of feeling, would result in breaking. adroit management, and through their majority in Congress, to collect large revenues, which are n some instances, violence. Slavery has been it is, and which is the foundation of its wealth and the treasury has been filled, they have not been wanting in pretexts, some of them the most flimsy illustrate the immense loss to the North by the and unconstitutional, to empty it into the laps o their own citizens to enrich them, or appropriate it for public works within their own limits, to benefit their own section. The domestic exports of the United States in 1848, (the latest year o which I have a return by me,) were within a triffe of \$133,000.000; of which the share of the Southern States was about \$95,000,000, leaving the balance of \$28,000,000, as the share of the North ern States. These brought us a return of \$155. 000,000 of imports:—of which the share of the South would be about \$110,000,000, and that of the North about \$45,000,000. Now, supposing that all these imports pay duties, (which is now the case) at an average of 20 cent., (which is less than is really exacted,) the Southern States pay \$22,000,000 towards the annual revenue of the General Government, while the North contributes out \$9,000,000. But how stands the account o he disbursement of these \$31,000,000 of revenue? Are the 22,000,000 which are taken from the labor of the South expended at the South, to enrich her citizens and improve her section; and only the triumph sooner or later. He was ready to aid \$9,000,000 which are contributed by the North in this proposed movement to the full extent of spent among her people? Far, very far, is this the doctrine of free trade. From being the case. We have not within our Mr. Beman read a lette reach the documents which are necessary to exnibit this point; but we see, and feel, and know that harsh injustice is done in this matter. It has been asserted, on good authority, that sevenninths of the income of the General Government are spent at the North; and but two-ninths at the South. According to this estimate, whilst the Southern States contribute of the \$31,000,000, \$22,000,000, they receive back, to be spent amon heir people, but \$6,900,000; and whilst the North contributes but \$9,000,000 to that fund, they contrive so to divert the current of expenditure out of its natural channels, as to spend the enormous amount of \$24,100,000 among her own people, which is \$15,000,000 annually more than they contribute; and the same amount so much taken from the profits of our industry, to enrich their own itizens and section. This is equally true of revenue also from the sale of our public lands, and all other sources of our public income, amounting

> disbursed among the Free-soil States, to nearly \$28,000,000, whilst the sums expended at the outh are less than \$8,000,000.
> "In estimating, then, the value of the Union to them, as it has no doubt often been cyphered ou in the true "Clock Maker" State by the "San Slicks" of the North, it has been without doubt ascertained, and credited in their 'bank book,' as being worth to them, in hard dollars, at least eighteen millions of dollars annually, in clear gain, and free of all expenses. Hence the tender affection—the reverential regard, which they pretend to feel, and express for the 'Union;' and hence the abhorrence which they express at the thought of separating from their beloved 'breth-ren' at the South, and the denunciation of those who breathe the word 'disunion' as a thing that 1.310.591 1.485.299 1.580.658 possible. But the South begins at length to understand the sincerity of these professions of veneration for the 'Union;' and the disinterestedness of their indignation at those who would dissolve it; and especially when they threaten to hold us in their embraces by main force, and

to near \$4,000,000 more, which swells the amoun

with all the violence of musketry and cannon, it "They are in danger of losing, not merely the was only \$48,441,719? Yet, within this period, the South furnished of the exports, values to the amount of \$213,277,294?"

Let us now glance at some of the advantages which the North derives from its connection with the South, and see what would be the injury acturing to our Northern brethren, in case they should, by their intolerant and proscriptive laws, force the South out of the Union.

"Owing to the operation of certain laws of the Federal Government, the Northern States have of their citizens who are now nourished by those the south out of the Union. of their citizens who are now nourished by those expenditures to sink down in suffering, and the ublic works upon which they are squandered, to

but eighteen millions and more, contributed by the South; making their share of the expenditures over \$27,000,000. Now it has been seen that their share of the imports amount only to about \$45,-000,000; upon which it would require a duty of 60 per cent. to raise the \$27,000,000 of revenue, which they are now accustomed to spend. But as no commerce could bear for any length of time a burden of 60 per cent., then the resort would have to be to direct taxes; which it is very doubtful whether a population like that in the Northern States would submit to.

certain, that that amount of revenue could not (except by borrowing) be supplied for purposes of either war or peace; and that all the interests and projects which are now fostered by that expenditure will be suffered to languish and decay.

"In every point of examination, then, it will appear that the dissolution of the Union will be followed by infinite disaster to the North; and with comparatively little to the South. Let every Southern man then firmly persuade himself of this fact—that the Union is of vastly more value than then then with the content of the state. to them than it is to us; and that it is for them and not for us, to make sacrifices and concessions

to maintain it.

"As long as the principles of the Constitution are faithfully observed, and the Union made to promote the purpose for which it was formed, it becomes our duty to support it."

In view, therefore, of the great damage that must result to the North from a dissolution of the Union, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that our Northern brethreh would perpetrate an act so suicidal as to tempt ruin upon their own heads by forcing the South to secede. The dominant majority of Congress press their aggressions, in the

jority of Congress press their aggressions, in the belief that we will acquiesce, and the work of plunder go on without endangering the Union. If the whole South would stand up as one man and proclaim a determination to resist, we are hopeful of a reactionary feeling on the part of those who seek to oppress and degrade us. But so long as they believe that the Union is atronger than slavery, and that we prefer the loss of our property to the loss of the Union, we need not expect any bull in the storm or any break in their energy. lull in the storm, or any break in their encroach-ments. Hence it becomes us to act in such a man-ner as will undeceive our enemies, and in a form

which cannot be misunderstood.

Beset on all sides, the South in her perilous condition can alone find safety in her own firm-ness. Fidelity to herself may preserve the Union as it was, and with it the guarantees of political equality. An undivided Southern front, moving equality. An undivided Southern front, moving steadily on the line of duty, will either repulse the enemy, or fix the responsibility of the conflict upon the aggressive party. The Southern people are anxious to preserve the Union in its original character. Its destiny is in the hands of the Northern people: they can destroy it by perverting its character, and pushing their encroachmento its overthrow: they can save it by administe ing justice and adhering to the Constitution which made it. It is for the North to colculate its value and to determine its existence. The South is in the minority, and, acting on the defensive, cannot be held responsible for the consequences which may follow the acts of a majority intolerant in its opinions and destructive in its policy.

From the New York Herald. Important Movement.

NITIAL MEETING FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF FREE TRADE LEAGUE. In pursuance of the following invitation, circulated among gentlemen known to be favorable to the great object therein designated, to

A meeting of gentlemen favorable to the organization of a Free trade league, will be held at the Irving House, on Thursday, 28th inst., at 8 o'clock P. M., for the purpose of agreeing upon principles, and adopting a con You are respectfully invited to at-

James Lee, J. L. H. McCrackan, M. Living ston, W. C. Bryant, Edwd. K. Collins, J. Van Buren, Moses Taylor, A. C. Flagg, Free-man Hunt, N. M. Beckwith, H. C. Murphy, H. Fuller, C. Edwards Lester, L. B. Chase, C. H. Marshall, Parke Godwin, Theo. Sedgewick, R. Walker, John McKeon, T. P. Kettell, J. Bigelow, Chas. O'Conor, R. H. Morris, J. T. Brady, J. Pattison, Godf. Pattison & Co., J. R. Whiting, J. J. Boyd, T. J. Gerald, G. P. Putnam, F. B. Cutting, C. F. Briggs, Saml. Beman. New York, 25th November, 1850.

A very respectable meeting in numbers, and comprising a very large proportion of men of intelligence and experience in political and com-mercial affairs, assembled in the Irving House ast evening, at eight o'clock. The meeting being called to order, on mo

Mr. N. M. Beckwith was called to the Chair,

Mr. Samuel Beman was appointed Secretary. ligations to say a word or two. and briefly stated its object to be the organiza- the religious and social rites that to it belong. tion of a free trade league, for the purpose of advocating the doctrine of free trade, and the collection of the revenues for the support of the

Government by direct taxation. Mr. James Lee briefly recapitulated the adthe revenue system of duties upon imports. It The people, to be sure, were with the moveevident that the success of the free trade policy in England had given an impulse to the policy in this country, which promised its complete triumph sooner or later. He was ready to aid

Mr. Beman read a letter from the Hon. Ro bert J. Walker, regretting that business at Washington called him to that city, and which would ecessarily prevent his attendance at this meet ng. He was, however, completely identified with the objects of the meeting for abolition of the present system of collecting the revenues from imports, and he was in favor of free trade, and of meeting the expenses of the government by direct taxation. His reports while Secretary of the Treasury, indicated these views.

After some conversation as to the proper iniatory steps to be taken at this meeting, in the organization of the league, the following resolution was proposed

The resolution, and various amendments, were discussed by Messrs. Pell, Lee, Butterworth, tween the manufacturers, who imagine that their McKeon, Fuller, Hawks, and others, when the

following substitute, by Mr. Wright Hawks, was proposed, and adopted by the meeting:

Res lved, That it is expedient to organize a free trade league, for the purpose of advocating he abolition of indirect taxation, and the estab lishment of free trade and of direct taxation for the support of the General Government. On motion, a committee of five was ordered

to be appointed by the chair, to draft a constituand tion and by-laws for the league, to be reported at the next meeting. The Chair appointed Messrs. James Lee, Jno. McKeon, H. Fuller, W. C. Bryant and Mr. But-

terworth, the said committee. On motion of Mr. Lee, another committee of five was ordered, to be appointed by the Chair, to draft a declaration of the principles and objects of the league for publication. The Chair appointed Messrs. Robert J. Walker, James Lee, T. P. Kettell, Alfred Pell, and

Wright Hawks, said committee. And, by resolution, the chairman and secretary of the meeting were added to both the aforesaid

On motion of Mr. Freeman Hunt, the comnittee on the constitution were empowered to and thus made proof against the test of acids. designate the time and place of the next meeting.

And the meeting adjourned.

Some small pieces resembling closely in appearance the coarse placer gold, and galvanized,

And the meeting adjourned.

As understood, the objects of this association States, irrespective of existing political parties, beginning in New York, and to be followed up

stituting direct texation upon the the beginning of a great and powerful element in rhe politics of the country. It will be well to watch its progress from this initial meeting. It will be well

From the Charleston Mercury.

Mississipii.—We have received the message of Gov. Quizman, and the first two days proceedings of the Mississippi legislature, from ceedings of the Mississippi legislature, from which we judge that there is one State besides South Carelina that is prepared to insist on redress or disunion. The message reviews the general grounds of the great sectional controversy in a masterly manner—clear, strong, and logical. Within the same limits we have not met with a more striking analysis of the question. The Governor strongly advises the convocation of a State Convention, and plainly says that unless the North affords such redress of past wrongs, and such guarantees for the future security of the South, as are not to be looked for, the proper course of the South is a peaceable secession from the Union.

In both Houses of the legislature the submissionists were on the alert. In the Senate, the

sionists were on the alert. In the Senate, the resolutions approving of the Clay Compromise, and proposing to adjourn, on the ground of there being no cause for agitation, were rejected—ayes 5, noes 25. In the House, a motion adverse to the measure and which seems to have been the message, and which seems to have been made a test, was rejected by ayes 50, noes 38. These votes we judge to indicate the full strength of the submission party.

From the Baltimore Sun

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29, 1850. South Carolina-Solitary Secession-Rights of

States to secede—Course of Southern members Up to the present hour I have not received any intelligence from Charleston, S. C., except what is contained in the Charleston papers of Tuesday. But there is no doubt that Governor enbrook will recommend secession, in unior with other States, if possible, or solitary se cession if that concert be impracticable.

There is no doubt that the vast majority of the people of South Carolina are for secession in concert with other States, but many are opposed to a solitary movement. The honors paid to Mr. Cheves may be considered as an enlorsement of his recent speech, or merely as a tribute of personal regard from the legislature to a venerable and popular citizen.

South Carolina will secede. No one can

To suppose that she will not, is to attribute to her an uncommonly large share of po-litically tempestuous teapotism.

The modus of secession I do not understand, nor do the resolutions of 1799 distinctly state

it. But the right of a State to without as the Union, has been generally entertained as good republican doctrine. It is, however, an 2 o'clock. The plan succeeded as it deserved to succeed. All men of action are impressed to succeed. All men of action are impressed to succeed. it. But the right of a State to withdraw from lina will be allowed to depart in peace, and to do whatever she may please, provided she should so use her own rights as not to injure those of the Union.

Suppose a State were to withdraw from th Union, would she not be just where Rhode Island was in May, 1789, when she held back from the Federal Union? There would be no ecasion for war against her any more now than then, unless she gave the provocation. Rhode Island having refused to embrace the Constitution, was simply denied the enjoyment of its benefits. An act passed the 16th May, 1789 entitled "an act to prevent bringing goods wares and merchandize from the State of Rhode Island into the United States, and to authorize a demand of money from the same"—that is to pay up arrears.

The stern little republic still held back, bu finally, by a majority of two, she decided to come into the Union, but under all sorts of reservations, whereby she could get out again. Virginia, in embracing the Constitution, declared he right to resume the powers delegated under it whenever they should be perverted to her injury and oppression. That is nothing more than a revolutionary right. It is to be hoped that the Federal Governmen

vill never make war upon a seceding State, but, on the contrary, be ever ready to receive her back.

Southern members of Congress here express the hope that the South will, during the coming session, be quiet, in Congress. But I apprehen that many Southern members will be under ob

From the New York Evening Post A MOVEMENT IN BEHALF OF FREE TRADE .-

The project of forming an association, for the single purpose of bringing the legislature of the vantages of free trade and direct taxation over country to recognize the principle of freedom of trade, has long been talked of in this city. Last was a great movement, and this might be con- evening a considerable number of gentlemen, sidered a small beginning for an object of such entertaining the same views on this subject, as magnitude. But the anti-corn law league sembled at the Irving House, and took the pre-began with a meeting of five men in the city of liminary steps for carrying the design into effect Manchester, who subscribed to the organization two shillings a piece; and in two or three years the association to be absolute free trade, the abit became the policy of the British government. rogation of all indirect taxation, and the substitution of direct taxation for the support of the ment; but why may we not anticipate, also, the co-operation of the people in a similar movement in the United States? It was sufficiently takes the name of the Free Trade League, and takes the name of the Free Trade League, and another committee to prepare an address to the people. The ultimate object of the League, our readers will perceive from what we have said is to abolish our revenue duties and place the in tercourse between our country and others, on the same footing of good neighborhood and unmolested liberty, which exists between this city and the other ports and cities of the Union.

The protectionists in this country have under stood the advantages of organized co-operation far better than the friends of free trade, or, at least, have availed themselves of them freely, while we have always neglected them, more or less, and of late years altogether. There was once a free trade convention held at Philadelphia, but that was the last effort of the economists of that school, at any thing like combination for the support of their opinions. The manufacturers, on the other hand, are always meeting in conventions, dispensing publications designed to recommend their views, and keeping Resolved, That it is expedient to organize an their agents at Washington, whenever there association, for the purpose of advocating free any apparent possibility of producing an effect trade and direct taxation. derstanding and frequent communication beinterests depend on the protective system, is such as almost to have the effect of a regularly organized league. It is owing to this that the doctrines of free

trade, notwithstanding the favorable disposition of the public mind to receive them, have made no more progress in this country. It is owing to this that their advocates in Congress have, for the most part, been wanting in boldness and thoroughness in their support. If the Free Trade League, of which we shall soon hear further, shall take but half the pains to operate on public opinion, and to strengthen the minds of members of Congress who are with them on this question, that the manufacturers have done, we may hope soon to see the beginning of a reform in the revenue laws, which will not stop until it shall have abolished the whole patronage which the Government derives from the Custo House.

yesterday, at Moffat & Co's., some golden ingots of a quite inferior carat, less than eighteen, and consequently not worth twelve dollars ounce. They were galvanized on the surface proved to be only zinc or some such metal. re-to organize a free trade party in the United They were very light. A large amount of the latter quality, we understand, has been bet and lost at some of the monte and other tables of latter quality, we understand, has been bet and lost at some of the monte and other tables of chance in this city. Persons should be on their captain Hollingshead. The boat is valued at public works upon which they are squandered, to go to decay, or they must raise the amount by Union, for the purpose of advocating the policy taxes upon themselves. But how raise them? Union, for the purpose of advocating the policy of abolishing the system of revenues from imports to themselves, out of the public treasury, not only the nine millions of their own, for the support of the Government, and of sub-

ther discussion of the negro immigration ques-tion. An amendment was offered by Juege

tion. An amendment was offered by Jucze Hall, allowing all negroes and mulattoes now in the State to hold property, and a motion to key this on the table was rejected by ayes 44, nor 557. The special order was then taken up, which was "the rights of married women," as follows:

Women hereafter warried in this State simil have the right to acquire and possess property to their sole use and disposal, and a law shall be passed securing to them, under equitable conditions all property, real and personal, whether owned by them before marriage, or acquired afterward by purchase, gift, devise, descent, or any other way, and also providing for the registration of the wives' separate property."

Laws shall be passed securing to women now married the right to all property hereafter to be acquired by them in every case in which such married women in conjunction with their husbands shall file for record, in the recorder's office of the county in which they reside, a declaration,

the county in which they reside, a declaration

only attested, expressing the desire of the parties to come under the provision of such laws.

On this subject, Robert Dale Owen made a brilliant speech, before a brilliant audience, says the Journal. On the 15th, the convention transacted no

business, the death of Mr. Vanberthusen, a delegate from Shelby county, being announce

PLEASURES OF LYING IN BED .- Leigh Hunt is said to have perpetrated a very bad pun connected with the dormitory, and which made Charles Lamb laugh immoderately. Going home to-gether late one night, the latter repeated the roverb, "A home 's a home, however homely." comebody has called it a bundle of paradoxes we go to it reluctantly, and leave it with regret. once within in the downy precincts of the four posts, how loth we are to make our exodus into the wilderness of life. We are as enamored of our curtained dwelling as if it were the land of Goshen or the cave of Circe. And how many ferrent vows have the dumb bedposts heard broken! every fresh perjury rising to join its cloud of hovering fellows, each morning weigh-ing heavier and heavier on our sluggard eyelids. A caustic proverb says—we are all "good risers at night;" but wo's me for our agility in the morning; it is a failing of our species, ever ready to break out in all of us, and in some only vanuished after a struggle painful as the sundering

of bone and marrow.

The great Frederick of Prussia found it easier in after life to rout the French and Austrians, than in youth to resist the seductions of sleep. After many single-handed attempts at reforma-tion, he had at last to call to his assistance an old domestic, whom he charged, on pain of dis-missal, to pull him out of bed every morning at with the importance of early rising. "When you begin to turn in bed, it's time to turn out," says the old duke; and we believe his practice has been in accordance with his precept. Literary men—among whom, as Bulwer says, a cer-tain indolence seems almost constitutional—are not so clear on this point; they are divided last tween night and morning, though the best au thorities seem in favor of the latter. Early rising is the best chixir vita; it is the only length er of life that man has ever devised. By its id the great Buffon was able to spend half a con-tury—an ordinary life time—at his desk; and yet had time to be the most modish of the philosophers who then graced the gay metropolis of France.-Household Words.

One of the late Mr. Southey's letters to his friend, Dr. Gouch, just published in the last num-ber of the poet's life, contains a curious fact. It seems that while Prof. Sparks, the Biographer of Washington, was in London, exploring the Government offices for State papers relating to the war of Independence, he came upon a good deal of material which gave the British Government some uneasiness, as to what might be the effect of its publication. They, therefore, applied to Southey to write a history of the war, in the belief that he could put the matter in a shape more acceptable to them. Southey de-clined it, however, on the ground that it would interfere with pursuits in which he took a deep interest, and that other persons could be found to do the work equally well.

A SLIGHT MISTAKE.-When Sir Isanc Newton changed his residence, and went to live in Leicester Place, his next door neighbor was a w'dow lady, who was much puzzled by the little she observed of the habits of the philoso-

One of the Fellows of the Royal Society of London called upon her one day, when, among other domestic news, she mentioned that some one had come to reside in the adjourning house, who, she felt certain, was a poor mad gentleman, "because," she continued, "he diverts himself in the oddest ways imaginable. Every morning when the sun shines so brightly that we are obliged to draw the window blinds, he takes nis seat in front of a tub of soap suds, and occupies himself for hours blowing soap bubbles through a common clay pipe, which he intently watches floating about until they bursted. He is doubtless," she added, "now at his favorite amusement; do come and look at him." The gentleman smiled, and then went up stairs, when after looking through the stair-case window in the adjourning court-yard, he turned round and said,-"My dear madam, the person whom you suppose to be a poor lunatic, is no other than the great Sir Isaac Newton, studying the refraction of light upon thin plates, a phenomenon which is beautifully exhibited upon the surface of a common soap-bubble."

PERILOUS STATE OF THE SUGAR CROP .- The ecent heavy frosts and changeable weather have damaged the sugar crop, we fear, very From a number of communications seriously. on our table, dated at points above and below the city, we gather nothing consolatory, but on the contrary, we are induced to believe this great interest of our State for the present season, if not also for the next, will suffer very heavy loss, perhaps, in some cases, irreparable

We take the following extract as a fair specimen of the letters we have received; partly because the writer is a gentleman of execllent judgment and great candor; and also because from his residence being below the city, where usually less injury is experienced from frost, he is more apt to avoid the natural exaggeration to which parties are prone in the moment of fright, with past suffering brought vividly before

"I wrote you yesterday per Fashion, to which please refer. Matters seem to be getting worse and worse with us. Yesterday it rained, was raw and chilly-this morning, cloudy and cool; now 1 o'clock, P. M., clear and warm. The cane I find is far more injured than I expected: so much so, that I have all the force I can muster windrawing-whether this in the present state of the cane, will benefit me or not, is a question yet to be solved. That the crop in this parish s materially injured, cannot be questioned—for have letters from my friends thirty miles below, who give me the same unsatisfactory accounts—a circumstance in every particular true; for you are aware, I don't exaggerate in such matters. What little sugar we make must, I think, under these circumstances, bring a Base Gold-Take Care. We were shown price. N. O. True Delta.

> arge steamer Columbus, which runs between Baltimore and Richmond as a freight and passage Baltimore and Richmond as a Reignt and passage boat. She was totally destroyed by fire yesterday morning, while en route for Richmond, in the Chesapeake bay, off the mouth of the Potomae. It is not known how the fire originated. When last seen she was burnt nearly to the \$60,000. The cargo valuable—all lost. We learn there is \$10,000 insurance on the boat.—She had recently undergone thorough repairs.

We regret to learn of the loss by fire of the